

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3883

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MASERU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 9505

FOR EDMONDSON FROM WISNER

LONDON FOR SEITZ AND MASERU FOR AMB. SCHAUFELE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR RH US

SUBJ: RHODESIA CONFERENCE: PATRIOTIC FRONT PRESS

CONFERENCE

1. AS PROMISED FOLLOWING PATRIOTIC FRONT'S NOV 26  
MEETING WITH RICHARD, NKOMO AND MUGABE HELD JOINT PRESS  
CONFERENCE AT 5:00 P.M. NOV 29 TO EXPLAIN THEIR POSITION  
ON THE INDEPENDENCE DATE ISSUE. MUGABE READ TEXT OF  
LENGTHY STATEMENT WHICH ATTEMPTS TO EXPLAIN FRONT'S  
FIRM STAND ON DATE ISSUE AND CONCESSIONS WRUNG FROM  
BRITISH AS A RESULT IN SETTING SPECIFIC TIMEFRAME FOR  
GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE. STATEMENT CONCLUDES THAT  
FRONT STILL CANNOT ACCEPT UK TIMEFRAME OF 15 MONTHS AND  
MAINTAINS ITS POSITION THAT INDEPENDENCE SHOULD COME  
STRICTLY WITHIN A 12 MONTH PERIOD. HOWEVER, TO FACILITATE  
THE BUSINESS OF THE CONFERENCE, FRONT RESERVES ITS POSITION  
AND AGREES TO DEFER FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE ON  
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BASIS OF BRITISH STATEMENT THAT ALLOWS CONFERENCE TO

REVERT TO THIS QUESTION AT A LATER STAGE.

2. ASKED WHY FRONT HAD NOT CHOSEN TO RESERVE ITS POSITION EARLIER, NKOMO REPLIED THAT GETTING BRITISH TO FIX A FIRM DATE WAS AN ACHIEVEMENT WORTH CONSIDERATION. MUGABE ADDED THAT ORIGINALLY BRITISH HAD ACCEPTED NEITHER A "BOTTOM" NOR A "TOP" CEILING DATE. NEITHER EXPLANATION CAME ACROSS AS CONVINCING, AND IT WAS APPARENT THAT BOTH MEN WERE PRESSED TO FIND A FACE-SAVING RATIONALE FOR COMING SO BELATEDLY TO THEIR PRESENT POSITION.

3. CONCERNING FRONT'S ONE AND ONE-HALF HOUR MEETING WITH RICHARD THIS AFTERNOON, NKOMO STATED ONLY THAT THEY HAD NOT "DISCUSSED" THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. RATHER, THE BRITISH HAD OUTLINED THEIR VIEWS ON THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, AND THE FRONT WOULD MEET AGAIN WITH THE BRITISH NOVEMBER 30 TO OUTLINE ITS OWN IDEAS. THIS COINCIDES WITH BRITISH PRESS SPOKESMAN EARLIER CHARACTERIZATION OF MEETING AS ONE OF EXPLANATION RATHER THAN DISCUSSION.

4. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PATRIOTIC FRONT PRESS STATEMENT ENTITLED "POLITICAL CONTEXT OF GENEVA CONFERENCE":

BEGIN TEXT

1. THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE IS LONG OVERDUE. THE SIX ONE-HALF MILLION PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE ARE ENTITLED TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND THE ENJOYMENT OF ALL THEIR INHERENT FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE LAND OF THEIR BIRTH. THE BASIC NATIONAL ASPIRATION OF OUR PEOPLE HAS ALWAYS BEEN TO LIVE IN A FREE, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE. THUS DURING THE 86 YEARS OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALISM AIDED AND ABETTED BY OTHER WESTERN AND SOUTH AFRICAN REACTIONARY FORCES, THE OPPRESSED MASSES OF ZIMBABWE HAVE RELENTLESSLY STRIVEN FOR THIS FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT.

2. FOR THE LAST 13 YEARS THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE, UNDER THE VANGUARD LEADERSHIP OF THEIR LEGITIMATE POLITICAL  
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MOVEMENTS WHICH HAVE FORMED THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, IF ZANU AND ZAPU HAVE GALLANTLY WAGED THE ARMED STRUGGLE, FIRST WITH CRUDE WEAPONS AND NOW WITH IMPROVED FIREARMS IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THEIR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE. THE CENTRAL OBJECTIVE OF THIS ARMED STRUGGLE HAS ALWAYS BEEN, AND STILL IS, TO ENSURE THE TRANSFER OF POWER FROM THE FOREIGN WHITE MINORITY SETTLERS TO THE INDIGENOUS MAJORITY AND THUS TO TRANSFORM THE PRESENT SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM

CHARACTERIZED BY COLONIAL EXPLOITATIVE DOMINATION INTO ONE CHARACTERIZED BY EQUAL RIGHTS AND OPPORTUNITY. THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE HAS CREATED CONDITIONS FAVOURABLE FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF THE CHERISHED GOAL OF FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE BOTH INSIDE AND OUTSIDE ZIMBABWE. IT WAS CLEARLY THE PRESSURE OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE THAT FORCED THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, AS THE PRINCIPAL POWER OF ALL THE FORCES THAT HAVE COLONISED AND EXPLOITED THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE FOR 86 YEARS, TO CONVENE THE CONFERENCE IN GENEVA (OCTOBER - DECEMBER, 1976). THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ACCORDINGLY VIEWS THIS CONFERENCE AS A DIRECT PRODUCT OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND, INDEED, AS A CONTINUATION OF IT.

3. THE PROGRESS OF THIS CONFERENCE HAS SHOWN THAT ONLY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, COMPRISING THE DELEGATIONS OF ZANU AND ZAPU, STAND UNEQUIVOCALLY OPPOSED TO THE FORCES OF IMPERIALISM AND COLONIALSM, A POSITION WHICH CORRECTLY REPRESENTS THE BASIC ASPIRATIONS OF THE ISSUES BEING DISCUSSED AT THIS CONFERENCE MUST BE VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF THE TWO CONTENDING FORCES, NAMELY, THE COLONIAL FORCES ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE LIBERATION FORCES ON THE OTHER. THE LIBERATION FORCES ARE REPRESENTED BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN GENEVA, AND BY THE GALLANT FREEDOM FIGHTERS TOGETHER WITH THE HEROIC BROAD MASSES WHOSE CONTINUING STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWE IS BEING REPORTED IN NEWSPAPERS, AND BY RADIO AND TELEVISION EVERYDAY. IN ESSENCE, THIS IS THE POLITICAL REALITY WE FACE AT THIS CONFERENCE AND IN AFRICA.

4. DESPITE THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S CLAIM THAT IT IS WILLING TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE TO ZIMBABWE, ITS ACTIONS IN EVENTS LEADING TO, AND EVEN DURING, THIS CONFERENCE, MAKE CONFIDENTIAL

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THAT DECLARATION PIOUS AND QUESTIONABLE. WE RECALL THAT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS WERE NEGOTIATED BY UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF STATE, HENRY KISSINGER, AND JOHANNES VORSTER AND IAN SMITH TO THE TOTAL EXCLUSION OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE. IT WAS LEFT TO THE REBEL LEADER TO CHOOSE AND ANNOUNCE TO US THE TERMS ON WHICH HE WOULD ACCEPT MAJORITY RULE. ONE OF THESE TERMS WAS THAT THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS MUST CEASE FIGHTING AND ANOTHER WAS THAT DEFENCE AND POLICE MATTERS SHOULD REMAIN IN REBEL HANDS. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT RESOLUTELY REJECTED THIS CRUDE INSOLENCE BY A REGIME WHICH HAS NO REGARD FOR LAW, HONOUR AND PROMISES. ON THE CONTRARY, WE ANNOUNCED OUR DETERMINATION TO INTENSIFY THE ARMED STRUGGLE UNTIL TOTAL VICTORY IS ACHIEVED. IN THIS RESPECT, THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, TOGETHER WITH THE HERIOC STRUGGLING

MASSES OF ZIMBABWE, HAIL THE RECENT RESOLUTION OF THE LIBERATION COMMITTEE IN DAR ES SALAAM TO DO ALL WITHIN ITS POWER TO SUPPORT OUR ARMED STRUGGLE UNTIL THE RACIST MINORITY REGIME IS TOPPLED. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ON BEHALF OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE WISH TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXTEND ITS PROFOUND APPRECIATION TO THE OAU COUNTRIES, THE FRONTLINE STATES AND THE PROGRESSIVE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR THEIR DEMONSTRATION OF REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY FOR THE CAUSE OF HUMAN FREEDOM IN ZIMBABWE.

5. WE ARE AWARE THAT SETTLERS HAVE NOT YET CONCEDED DEFEAT; RATHER THEY SEE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN AS A CHANGE OF TACTICS ONLY. THEY HAVE SAID THAT THE KISSINGER PLAN "ENSURES COMPLETE CONTROL BY EUROPEANS" AND THAT "IF AFTER 2 YEARS WE (EUROPEANS) DON'T AGREE ON A CONSTITUTION, WE CAN REVERT BACK AND THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT (WHICH WILL BE "ON ICE") WILL TAKE OVER AGAIN". BRITISH AND AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS THEMSELVES SEEM TO HAVE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THEIR INTERESTS CAN NO LONGER BE SERVED BY A WHITE RACIST REGIME; THEY PREFER TO SUBSTITUTE A BLACK REGIME WHICH WILL BE LESS EXPOSED TO ATTACK BUT WILL SERVE THEIR INTERESTS EVEN MORE EFFICIENTLY. THEY THEREFORE VIEW THE MAJOR PURPOSE OF THIS CONFERENCE AS THE CREATION OF A BLACK PUPPET GOVERNMENT WHICH WILL CONTINUE TO DANCE TO THEIR TUNE. BRITISH  
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TACTICS HERE AND THE VILIFICATION OF PROGRESSIVE DELEGATIONS BY THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN PRESS MUST BE SEEN IN THAT CONTEXT.

THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WILL CONTINUE TO RESIST THESE MANOEUVRES AND TO WORK FOR AN OUTCOME OF THE CONFERENCE WHICH WILL NOT BETRAY THE BASIC INTERESTS OF OUR PEOPLE, BUT ENSURE COMPLETE CONTROL BY THE AFRICAN PEOPLE OF ALL ASPECTS OF GOVERNMENT, BEAT THE MENACE OF PUPPETRY, AVOID CIVIL STRIFE AND DISORDER AND GUARANTEE THE BEST CONDITIONS FOR RAPID ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION. UNTIL THESE CONDITIONS ARE FULFILLED, OUR WAR AGAINST IMPERIALISM WILL NOT HAVE ENDED.

6. WITH REGARD TO THE CONDUCT OF THIS CONFERENCE, WE HAVE HAD OCCASION TO COMPLAIN ABOUT THE DIVISIVE TACTICS EMPLOYED BY THE CHAIRMAN DURING THE COURSE OF THIS CONFERENCE. THERE HAVE BEEN UNDISGUISED ATTEMPTS TO DIVIDE AND RULE. ON AT LEAST TWO OCCASIONS, FAVOURED DELEGATIONS WERE SHOWN OR ISSUED WITH CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS WHICH WERE EXPRESSLY DENIED TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WAS PORTRAYED AS UNCOOPERATIVE, WITH THE

BBC AND THE WESTERN PRESS DUTIFULLY MANUFACTURING IMAGINARY SPLITS AND REVOLTS. ABOVE ALL THE BRITISH DELEGATION HAS DISPLAYED RIGID INTRANSIGENCE IN ITS RESOLVE TO PLEASE JOHANNES VORSTER AND IAN SMITH.

MORE SERIOUSLY PERHAPS IS THE WAY THE CONFERENCE IS BEING CONDUCTED. MINUTES OF BILATERAL TALKS HAVE NOT BEEN RECORDED AS CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS. AS A RESULT DELEGATIONS DO NOT KNOW WHAT HAS BEEN DISCUSSED IN BILATERAL MEETINGS THAT DID NOT INVOLVE THEM. WE CALL UPON THE CHAIRMAN TO HOLD MORE DISCUSSIONS IN THE OPEN FORUM THAN IN SECRET.

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3884

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MASERU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 9505

FOR EDMONDSON FROM WISNER

LONDON FOR SEITZ AND MASERU FOR AMB. SCHAUFELE

7. THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WOULD LIKE TO SEE A PEACEFUL AND ORDERLY TRANSFER OF POWER FROM THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THEIR SETTLERS TO THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE. SHORN OF ALL LEGALISTIC POSTURING AND SUBTERFUGE, THE PURPOSE OF THIS CONFERENCE IS AND MUST BE TO TRANSFER THAT POWER. IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THIS PRIME OBJECTIVE, WE DEMANDED THAT

THE CONFERENCE SHOULD FIRST FIX A SHORT, FIRM TIME-FRAME FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF ZIMBABWE. THE FIXING OF A FIRM DATE WOULD HAVE DEMONSTRATED A COMMITMENT BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE RHODESIAN REGIME TO THE CONTRAL OBJECTIVE - THE TRANSFER OF POWER - AND CREATED A CLEAR AND DEFINITE PERSPECTIVE FOR THE PROCESS TOWARDS INDEPENDENCE. IN ADDITION, AND ASSUMING AN ACCORD IS GOING TO BE REACHED, A FIRM DATE WOULD IMPOSE AN IRREVOCABLE OBLIGATION ON ALL CONCERNED TO OBSERVE SUCH GENEVA ACCORD. OUR LEGAL TEAM WORKED OUT A DETAILED PROGRAMME WHICH SHOWED THAT ALL THE LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE WORK THAT NEEDS TO BE DONE IN ANTICIPATION OF

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INDEPENDENCE CAN BE COMPLETED IN NINE TO TEN MONTHS. ACCORDINGLY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAD NAMED 1 SEPTEMBER 1977 AS OUR PREFERRED DATE OF INDEPENDENCE. HOWEVER, IN A SPIRIT OF NEGOTIATION AND WITH A VIEW OF RECONCILING OUR POSITION WITH THAT OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, WE AGREED TO POSTPONE OUR INDEPENDENCE BY THREE MONTHS.

WE WERE GREATLY SURPRIZED TO DISCOVER THAT OUR FLEXIBILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE WAS NOT RECIPROCATED BY THE BRITISH DELEGATION WHO HAVE ADAMANTLY REFUSED TO SHIFT FROM THE 15 MONTH PERIOD ENDING ON 1 MARCH, 1978. THIS BRITISH INTRASIGENCE CLEARLY DEMONSTRATES THAT THEY ARE NOT NEGOTIATING SERIOUSLY WHILE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS HONESTLY DETERMINED TO REACH A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

8. AS A RESULT OF THE FIRM STAND ADOPTED BY THE PATRIOTIC FRONT ON THE ISSUE OF A SPECIFIC INDEPENDENCE DATE, WE NOTE THAT THE CONFERENCE HAS NOW ACCEPTED THE FOLLOWING:

- (1) NAMING A TARGET DATE FOR THE CONCLUSION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE, NAMELY 20TH DECEMBER, 1976, AND THAT THIS DATE WILL NOT PREJUDICE THE DATE OF INDEPENDENCE; AND
- (2) COMMITMENT BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO 1ST MARCH, 1978, AS THE CEILING DATE, BEYOND WHICH INDEPENDENCE CANNOT BE DELAYED, AND
- (3) THE FACT THAT THE SPECIFIC TIME FRAMEWORK IN WHICH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT HAVE COMMITTED THEMSELVES TO GRANT INDEPENDENCE TO OUR COUNTRY, INCLUDES OUR DATE OF 1ST DECEMBER, 1977, AND THAT AN EARLIER DATE CAN BE DECLARED AND CONFIRMED BY US BEFORE THE END OF THE CONFERENCE.

NEVERTHELESS, WE ARE UNABLE TO ACCEPT THE BRITISH TIME-  
FRAME OF 15 MONTHS AND ACCORDINGLY, REITERATE OUR  
STAND THAT INDEPENDENCE SHALL COME STRICTLY WITHIN A  
12 MONTH PERIOD. TO FACILITATE THE BUSINESS OF THIS  
CONFERENCE, WE AGREE TO DEFER ANY FURTHER DISCUSSION ON  
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THE FIXING OF A DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE ON THE STRENGTH OF THE  
BRITISH STATEMENT WHICH ALLOWS US TO REVERT TO THIS  
QUESTION AT A LATER STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE. WE,  
THEREFORE, WISH TO MAKE IT KNOWN THAT WE ARE RESERVING  
OUR POSITION ON THE FIXING OF THE DATE UNTIL AN APPROP-  
RIATE STAGE OF THE CONFERENCE HAS BEEN REACHED.

END TEXT.CATTO

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